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TORONTO, October 26, 1892.

DEAR SIR:

At the last meeting of the Central Executive of the Irish Home Rule Fund, it was decided to forward pamphlets containing the proceedings of the Blake Demonstration held in this city on the 19th September, to friends favorable to the cause, and inviting at the same time their active co-operation in the movement.

In pursuance of that object I take the liberty of sending you copies of the pamphlet by this mail, and urgently request that you will call together those in your neighborhood, in sympathy with Ireland, for the purpose of providing means for her assistance in what is confidently believed to be her last struggle to regain her legislative independence.

Hoping to hear from you in the matter at your first convenience,

I am yours repectfully,

JOHN L. LEE, *Secretary*,
10 Adelaide Street East.

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THE BLAKE DEMONSTRATION.

PAVILION, HORTICULTURAL GARDENS,

MONDAY EVENING, SEPT. 19TH, 1892.

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THE BLAKE DEMONSTRATION

—— AT THE ——

PAVILION, HORTICULTURAL GARDENS,

MONDAY EVENING SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1892.

S.P. 708
10-9-2

FULL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

The Blake Demonstration, held in the Pavilion, Horticultural Gardens, on Monday evening, September 19th, was one of the largest and most respectable that was ever witnessed within the walls of that spacious building; and when the chairman, Senator Frank Smith, took his place on the platform, having on his right and left the member for South Longford and his Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, Most Rev. John Walsh, the very rafters shook with cheers, repeated again and again for several minutes. On the stage, besides these distinguished gentlemen, were:

Hon. John Costigan, Senator Sullivan (Kingston), Hon. Peter Mitchell, Rev. Dr. Burns (Hamilton) Monsignor Rooney, James McMullen, M. P., Father O'Reilly, Patrick Boyle, J. D. Edgar, M.P., Hon. R. Harcourt, Hon. A. S. Hardy, James Innes, M.P., D. Guthrie, M. P. P.; Sheriff McKim, Guelph; J. K. Kerr, Q.C., Rev. Dr. Dewart, Robert Jaffray; Capt. Larkin, St. Catharines; A. F. Jury, Senator O'Donohoe, Rev. Chas. Duff, Rev. James Grant, Cornelius Flannigan, Major Manley, Ald. Leslie, C. A. Burns, Dr. Parnell, Ottawa; T. Mulcahey, Orillia; John Mallon, Dean Cassidy, N. G. Bigelow, M.P.P., Hon. Anglin, Dr. Chamberlain, E. T. Malone; Dean Harris, St. Catharines; Rev. A. P. Finan, Rev. J. Kilcullen; Edward O'Connor, Guelph; Col. Higginbotham, Guelph; J. W. Fitzgerald, Peterborough; John Cronin, B. B. Hughes; Senator R. W. Scott, Ottawa; John McKeown, county attorney, Lincoln; W. J. Holland, Lawrence Cosgrave; Rev. A. J. Kreidt, Niagara Falls; Rev. J. F. McBride, D. A. Carey, Bryan Lynch, Dan[illegible] K[illegible]; Wm. Morrison, Scotland; Hugh M[illegible], J.P.; Dr. T. J. Birchard, Brantford; M. Teefy, J.P., Richm[illegible] Hill; [illegible] Ald. James O'Brien, [illegible]y Orland, Hamilton; C. J. McCa[illegible]P. M. Kennedy, John Falvey, Fa[illegible]r Egan, J. J. Cosgrave, J. J., Fo[illegible] C.M. J. Ryan, James Ryan, Jo[illegible]lavahab, P. Falvey; F. Fairen, [illegible] Thomas Cahill, Peterborough; Father F. Ryan, Vicar-General McCann, Father [illegible] Gearin, T. W. Banton, Father Minehan; George R. Pattullo, registrar, Woodstock; Father James Walsh, J. P. Murray; Ald. James Ruddin, Liverool, England; Father Brennan, C. T Long, Dr. Bergin, M.P., J. L. Lee, Frank Lee, Thomas Hefferman, C. Burns, J.P.

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Among those noticed in the audience were: Jas. Mays, Dennis Coffee, Wm. Carroll, G. W. Field, F. Armstrong, Lynch Gladstone, Ald. Burns, F. G. Inwood, Ald. Gowanlock, A. G. Gowanlock, John Hoskin, Q.C., W. T. R. Preston, John Burns, W. R. Doane, T. Thomson, James Stewart, Dr. Avison, Mrs. Frank Smith and party, Robert MacLean, W. L. Huddart, George Cloutier, D. E. Cameron, ex-Ald. Steiner, J. S. Willison, Archibald Blue, ex-Ald. Pape, M. Walsh, H. Denton, John Morison, P. Jamieson, J. J. Ryan, ex-Ald. Hewitt, Jas. O'Hearn, W. B. Hamilton, J. N. Blake, John Miller, J. J. Alworth, Richard Lewis, Thomas Higgins, Frank Pedley, Wm. Houston, Thos. Reid, C. W. Kerr.

The building was hung with green and white bunting, and at every nook

and cranny back of the big platform were strung monster Union Jacks. Behind the chairman and above the heads of the distinguished gathering on the platform were two large banners. On the topmost one of these was printed in bright letters the words, "Welcome to the member for South Longford."

THE CHAIRMAN'S WELCOME.

The chairman, on rising, was received with a loud burst of applause. After it subsided he said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I am somewhat embarrassed to-night to be placed in this proud position as chairman of this noble gathering. While embarrassed, however, I feel proud to have been chosen to welcome a gentleman from Ireland who left Canada to assist and do justice to the cause of Ireland. (Prolonged applause.) Mr. Blake went over to Ireland, gave his time and ability in the cause of that great people, and was honored by being elected as member of the British House of Parliament for South Longford. His election I hope will bring peace and happiness to Ireland and unity and strength to the empire. (Renewed cheers.) The hon. gentleman at my side feels as I feel, and as every true Irish son feels, that we belong to the empire called Great Britain and Ireland. (Great cheering.) I stand here to-night as a son of the empire and not to ask separation in any shape or form. I stand here to condemn the man who does hope for separation. (Applause.) I stand here to ask for the rights and liberties for Ireland such as all British subjects should enjoy. A local parliament for the Emerald Isle somewhat similar to our Canadian Parliament is what we would all hail with joy. It may not be possible to get everything on the same lines, but let us have it as nearly as possible. (Cheers.) Since the year 1837, when we had lamented troubles here, since England saw fit to grant us a responsible government, we have worked for the union of the empire, and none of my fellow-countrymen during those troubles wanted a separation from the empire. I had Osgoode Hall for my barracks during those trying times, and have ever since been prepared, like 95 per cent of my fellow countrymen, to shoulder arms in defence of the flag we love (Cheers.) In Ireland we are coming daily to a more satisfactory state of affairs, and I predict that in a very few years prosperity and happiness will reign supreme in that country from the extreme north to the extreme south. I remember the time when her Majesty was crowned, and since she ascended the throne Irishmen could look back and say that she had not done anything to molest that little isle. (Applause.) I am here to-night to ask for local legislation and welcome any fellow countryman on that line. The sons of Ireland are entitled to it. The English people are slow to act, but the first instalment has been given by the last general election. The clock has struck one in England for Home Rule and that clock will not go back. (Great applause.) We may see on placards: "The Empire's in danger," but I would ask any sensible person, is Mr. Gladstone the one to put the Empire in danger? (No! no! and applause.) The sons of Ireland have never betrayed their country and their Queen. And as Wellington said at Waterloo, "These sons of Ireland will bring lustre to the British Crown." (Cheers.) Hon. Edward Blake, I believe, is asgood a son of Ireland as any man living. (Tremendous cheering) And further, he is as good a British subject as can be found within our great Empire. (Prolonged applause.) If he were not he would have few to support him here to-night. We all believe that union with England is our future, and therefore we ask England to give us local self government. In conclusion the chairman expressed his firm belief that Home Rule was almost an accomplished fact.

REV. DR. BURNS' SPEECH.

Rev. Dr. Burns, of Hamilton, one of the most prominent of Protestant Home Rulers in Canada, to whom had been entrusted the pleasant task of reading the address of welcome to Mr. Blake, stepped forward amid tumultuous applause and roused the enthusiasm of his hearers in a few preliminary words. He complimented Toronto on the honor she had done herself in thus honoring one of her sons. The man who thought otherwise was out of place and had lost both latitude and longitude. Not the hoi poli but the very cream of the people of Toronto of all shades of politics had assembled not only to do honor to a man ninety-nine and nine-ninths of whom all respected, but to show their opinion on the great question of self-government. (Cheers) All must feel, as he felt, the wish to live under a system of self-government. All must feel the desire for self-government tingling through their veins and going clean through their being, and the feeling too, "I will award to every son of Adam, to every daughter of Eve, that which I desire for myself." (Cheers.) It was part of the eternal fitness of things that Toronto should honor Blake.

It had been said that Irishmen were constantly grumbling. That was nothing to object to. The most terrible thing said of the slave in the Southern States was that he was as happy in slavery as if he were free. God help human nature that could become so degraded as not to feel the foot upon its neck. All honor to the Irish people for saying, "Not yet; don't rank us yet as slaves, for we are not." (Applause.)

Turning to the land laws of Ireland Dr. Burns said one heard continually that they were the best in the world. But these laws were made for tenants. Were the yeomanry of Ireland to remain forever tenants? Seventy-seven per cent. were tenants at will, 20 per cent. held by fixed tenure, while little over 3 per cent. of the people owned the land they tilled. Until the time came when the people of Ireland should own the land they tilled he would not rest content. In Belgium not less than 1,069,000 of the people lived upon their own land, and as owners were naturally loyal.

To press home the lesson of the necessity for reuniting Ireland in bonds of peace to Great Britian, the speaker quoted the case of Russia during the Crimean war, when during the worst period of the strife with the allies she had to maintain 200,000 of the flower of her army watching a Poland goaled to desperation. With a clear, clarion tone the speaker, amid tremendous cheering, cried, "I do not wish Ireland to be gaoled in that way. They speak of the Empire being in danger. There are a thousand men within sound of my voice who would spring to the defence of the Empire were it in danger. Oh, bring peace to my native land! bring peace! and you may withdraw your police; you may take away your 35,000 bayonets, and she will send you a regiment more from every county to fight for the Empire!" (Cheers.)

After speaking of the splendid effect that he anticipated from the broad spirit of catholicity shown by Mr. Blake, Dr. Burns read the following address:

"To the Hon. Edward Blake, LL.D., M.P., for South Longford in the British House of Commons:

"Sir,—It is with no ordinary feelings of delight that we greet you this evening and welcome you in the name of your numberless friends and admirers scattered everywhere through the length and breadth of our broad Dominion. We are not here to-night attracted through such mere curiosity as to meet a distinguished stranger, a celebrated traveller, or even a new Governor-General. A higher attraction has brought us together. It is to greet an old, familiar friend, whose name is amongst us a household word, whose youth was passed amid our own Canadian college haunts, whose comprehensive scholarship and commanding eloquence challenge admiration everywhere, and whose unswerving integrity and allegiance to truth have made him at once a model and an inspiration to the youth of our land.

"But, sir, none of these, nor all of them, would suffice to explain this evening's meeting. The fountain of this meeting's feelings is a genuine patriotism that invariably generates and honors an unquestioning heroism.

Had we been asked a few months ago what could add to the reputation of Edward Blake, we might well have paused for a reply. But when the news came that you had been asked to enter the British Parliament and give the weight of your influence and your legal talent to the establishment of local self-government in Ireland, we instinctively felt that your grandest hour had come—that the occasion was worthy of the man and the man was equal to the occasion. We listened anxiously for your response, not that your friends or the friends of Ireland had any doubt as to what that response would be—the call was so clear, the necessity so urgent, and the fitness so apparent. Indeed, had Erin in her extremity asked this Dominion that contains so many of her sons to send the ablest to her relief, the country would have turned instinctively to Edward Blake. And, sir, when we read your prompt and hearty response to the call of the dear old land, our respect and admiration deepened into a love that bordered on devotion. A thousand thousand hearts went with you from your native Canada, and every heart breathed a prayer for your personal safety and the triumph of the cause you had so nobly espoused.

"That cause is, we believe, the cause of peace. Home rule is the precursor of national harmony. The 44 States of the American Union illustrate the marvellous adaptation of the principle to the most heterogenous people; and the various Provinces of our Dominion preserve a loyalty to a common flag that would be utterly impossible but for local self-government. Thoroughly satisfied that it would be the harbinger of peace to Ireland and of harmony and increased strength to the empire, we advocate its application to our native land.

"And here we would repudiate with all the emphasis that we can command the absurd idea that home rule aims at and would tend to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. A scheme so senseless and chimerical could not be entertained by any rational mind for a moment, and we know of no representative Irishman or home ruler in any part of the empire that would countenance, much less encourage or aid, a project that should be denounced as preposterous as it is disloyal. Ireland needs England even more than England needs Ireland. In the words of the immortal Grattan, as he introduced his bill in 1780, 'Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign.' Such we know are your sentiments, sir, and such are the sentiments of this meeting—a meeting which will yield to no party at home or abroad in loyalty to our rightful sovereign, Queen Victoria.

"And we equally abhor and repudiate the thought that home rule would mean the slightest interference with the rights of the Protestant minority and the establishment and support by the State of the church of the majority. Such has not been the tendency of home rule in the United States. Ecclesiastical majorities do not oppress minorities in Canada. But if American and Canadian safeguards are not sufficient for Ireland, as home rulers, Protestant and Catholic, we suggest, nay, more, we demand that others be introduced. Poor Ireland has had enough of State churchism. Her religious dissensions have written her darkest history, and we would devoutly pray that the Irish bill may be so framed as to render a recurrence of religious strife impossible. The Catholic south needs the Protestant north, and the Protestant north needs the Catholic south, and to a united Ireland there would come a new heaven and a new earth in the Motherhood and co-operation of her sons.

"As a representative and champion of these thoughts we greet you to-night.

"And we congratulate you, sir, on the warm and generous reception awarded you in what might well be called your triumphal procession. We watched closely your every movement. We read eagerly every sentence connected with your name. The great heart of England, in its independent press, sounded your praise, and respectable opponents vied with each other in appreciation of your talents. Of course, cynical mediocrity on both sides of the Atlantic snapped and snarled as per instruction, nor could you stoop to notice.

"Of the ultimate triumph of your cause, sir, we have not the slightest doubt. Every day of delay is a loss to England, Scotland and Wales as much as to Ireland. You, sir, will see its triumphal passage. For, when next presented to the British Commons by Mr. Gladstone and supported by the brilliant galaxy of which he is the centre, the message of peace will be presented to Ireland by a majority transcending that of mere party.

"We assure you, sir, that in greeting you to-night we feel individually honored. You have brought back to us a reputation as unsullied as that you carried away, and a fame widened by every draft made upon your talents. The cause you have espoused is dear to every lover of liberty. Your message is one of peace, not of hate. You carry the olive branch, not the torch nor the sword, and in your patriotic and peaceful mission we bid you Godspeed in cementing hearts that should never have been alienated, and so harmonising elements that have been too long discordant, that we shall be able to say with a significance and emphasis hitherto inappropriate 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'

"On behalf of the home rulers of Canada,

"FRANK SMITH,
"President of Blake Reception.

"A. BURNS,
"First Vice-President.

"B. LYNCH,
"Second Vice-President.

"JOHN L. LEE,
"Secretary.

"PATRICK BOYLE,
"Treasurer,

"Toronto, September 19th, 1892."

Upon rising to reply Mr. Blake was received with a magnificent and prolonged ovation. In every part of the hall, in the remotest galleries, as well as the platform, ladies and gentlemen rose in their seats, waved their handkerchiefs, their hats, their parasols, anything that was suitable, and cheered, while Mr. Blake stood silent, smiling behind his spectacles.

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I feel that I must, even on this occasion, postpone for a moment the language of thanks to give utterance to the language of regret. I cannot but remember that on the last evening, not so very long ago, when I stood upon this platform to address an audience, I dare say numbering many of those whom I have the pleasure of meeting to-night, we were gathered together to hear one of Ireland's gifted sons speak to us upon the subject of oratory; and that the lamented Daniel Dougherty has but a few days since passed away from the country which he adorned and enlightened for so many years (Applause.) Having said so much, which was due to him, I must ask you to forget for the rest of the evening that occasion, the lessons we then learned, and the man who enforced them, because I feel that my part, difficult enough at any rate, would become impossible if you were ungenerous enough to contrast my poor efforts with the eloquence which then enlightened and instructed us.

I have to thank you, and I shall only say I thank you, for any attempt in more elaborate words to express my feelings would be an utter failure; I have to thank you for the great cordiality of this reception, and for the language, altogether beyond my merits, in which you have been pleased to couch your very kindly feelings.

However flattering that reception and those words must be, I yet should have felt a difficulty in accepting a demonstration, even so magnificent as this, had it been in any sense limited or exclusive in point of race or creed or political local affiliation. (Applause.) For it has been my constant effort to make this question rather a common meeting ground for Canadians of whatever race or creed or of whatever local party politics. (Applause.) I have believed that four-fifths and more of our people, from Halifax to Vancouver, favored Home Rule for Ireland—(prolonged cheering)—and that if we took care to avoid embarrassing the expression of public opinion by the introduction of any such questions as those of race, of creed, or of local politics, Canada as a whole could upon this subject speak with an entirely commanding and an all but absolutely unanimous voice. I have believed that such a voice would be potent towards the success of the struggle; and so believing, I have felt it a sacred duty to preserve all the elements which might make that voice as strong, as clear, as harmonious as possible. I recognize that there are in Canada a few opponents of Home Rule, mainly, I think, members of one association

that I won't name to-night; some within and some without its ranks being opponents through honest fear and misapprehension, and others through long-continued prejudice and aversion. But, making all allowances, we are as a people favorable to Home Rule for Ireland. (Cheers.)

I think it important, ladies and gentlemen, at the very opening of my remarks, important under any circumstances, but specially important in view of the tone and attitude taken in certain quarters in this city in reference to this event, to recall to your recollection the course of proceedings on the subject of Home Rule in your national Assembly, in the Canadian House of Commons. In that Assembly three different Parliaments, elected upon three several occasions, have at different times during the past ten years spoken upon this question.

The Parliament elected in 1878 spoke in 1882, upon an address moved by Mr. Costigan, now present, supported by Sir John Macdonald, then the leader of the Government and of the Conservative party, and also supported by myself, at that time leader of the Liberal party. (Applause.) That address was carried with substantial unanimity. A couple of the members of the association to which I have referred did, indeed, dissent in speech; some more may, perhaps, have dissented in spirit; none dissented by vote. (Applause.) What was that utterance? I wish you to mark its words. You will find them important in dealing with this question to-day. It declared to the Queen that the Commons of Canada had observed with feelings of profound regret and concern the distress and discontent which had for some time prevailed in Ireland; that the Irishmen of Canada were amongst the most loyal and most prosperous and most contented of her Majesty's subjects; that the Dominion, which offered the greatest advantages and attractions for fellow-subjects, did not receive its fair proportion of immigrants from Ireland, and that this was largely due to feelings of estrangement towards the Imperial Government, and was undesirable in the interests of the Dominion and of the empire; that Canada and Canadians had prospered exceedingly under the Federal system allowing to each Province of the Dominion considerable powers of self government; and it expressed the hope that, if consistent with the integrity and well being of the Empire, and if the rights and status of the minority were fully protected and secured, some means might be found of meeting the expressed desire of so many Irish subjects in that regard; so that Irishmen might become a source of strength to the Empire, and that Irishmen at home and abroad might feel the same pride in the greatness of the Empire, the same veneration for the justice of the Queen's rule, the same devotion to and affection for the common flag as are now felt by all classes in the Dominion. It also asked for clemency for the political prisoners then lodged as suspects at Kilmainham.

I do not pretend that the language of that address altogether pleased me. Then, as on all subsequent occasions, I would have preferred a more decided tone. But I state that now historically only, not controversially; because I am well aware that there were difficulties in the way of Mr. Costigan and his friends, of which they were better judges than I could be. Such as the address was I supported it with all my might. I felt that it was a great help to the cause, and I assisted in its passage. Mr. Gladstone did not think the question was at that time one of practical politics; but I believe that our action was one of the many forces that were bringing it into the realm of practical politics — (hear, hear, and applause)—and I believe, that at any rate, it was well for Canada that she should show, as she did show, a deep interest in this Imperial concern, which so closely touched the interests and the honor of the Empire,

and the welfare of Canada herself. (Cheers.)

Time passed; the Irish masses obtained popular representation, and as a result four-fifths of the Irish seats were taken by Nationalist representatives. (Applause.) Mr. Gladstone acted, and in 1886, in a Parliament not elected on the question, and in a condition of public opinion not ripened for action upon it, he brought in the Bill of that year. I could not give my assent to some of the provisions of that bill, notably to that which excluded the Irish from the Westminster Parliament—(hear, hear, and applause)—and many British Liberals were of the same opinion. But Mr. Gladstone's offer, as to the terms upon which he asked that the second reading should be acceded to by the supporters of Home Rule, was substantially that it should be taken as a simple agreement to the general principle of an efficient measure of local government for Ireland, reserving all details, including that very important detail of the representation at Westminster. The question, notwithstanding, hung in the balance. The decision of those who later became, as they called themselves, Liberal Unionists, but as I believe, disunionists and separatists — (hear, hear, and applause)—was at that time still uncertain.

I thought the occasion critical and our help morally important. A new Canadian Parliament had in the meantime been chosen. I moved accordingly; and my friend, Mr. Costigan, who had since the former occasion succeeded to Ministerial honors, carried an amendment—not, I once again confess, in my opinion, an improvement. I dare say I was a little partial to the child of my own brains; but he carried what he called an amendment. That having been carried, I voted for the proposition as so amended, in concert with the whole recorded vote of the House save only six members. One of them voted against the resolution, not because he was not a friend of Home Rule, but because he thought the amended resolution was not strong enough. That was my friend Mr. Mitchell, who is on the platform here. (Laughter and applause.) The other five I am afraid did not vote for that reason, and I fancy the greater part of them belonged to the association to which I have referred—(laughter)—though, on the other hand, I am glad to say that many prominent members of that association voted with the majority on that occasion. (Cheers.)

Thus, by a practically unanimous resolution in the year 1886 we re-stated and re-affirmed our resolution of 1882, and thus a second Canadian House of Commons spoke in the same sense, with all the advantage given by four years' consideration, by a fresh election, by the advance that the question had made throughout the world meantime, and by the circumstance that an Imperial Bill was on the carpet. During that debate I took occasion to state my principle of action on this question, and I quote it to you now so that you may see how early it was stated and how sedulously it has been guarded since. I said this:

"What is required is the assurance not of one, but of all classes; not of a section, but of the people; not of a Minister of the Crown, but of the Commons of Canada; not of the Irish Catholic members, but of the French and English, Scotch, Irish and German, of all creeds and of all nationalities. * * * * I therefore speak, but not as a Reformer or as a party leader; I speak as a Canadian and a citizen of the empire to brother Canadians and fellow-citizens of the Empire. This is not a Protestant or Catholic question; they are enemies of their country who would make it so. It should not be, in Canada at all events, a Conservative or Reform measure. I regard those as enemies of their country who would try to make it so. I hope that we may, by our own action this day, show ourselves united in the redress of

wrongs and in the advancement of the cause of liberty."

So, substantially, we did act, though with less decision than I, for one, could have wished. But Mr. Gladstone was beaten by 30 votes. The English Parliament was dissolved, and the Home Rule Government was beaten, by a small popular, but a great parliamentary majority. The times looked dark indeed. Our Parliament about the same time was also dissolved. A new House fresh from the people met in each country; and in England the deplorable Crimes Bill was introduced. Seeing its introduction, Mr. Curran, a Canadian Conservative, moved in the Canadian House of Commons a resolution looking to the reaffirmance by the new House of the views already twice expressed as to local government for Ireland, but mainly directed against the Crimes or Coercion Bill then pending.

There was a division of opinion as to the propriety of moving against the Crimes Bill. Mr. McNeill proposed an amendment, which declined to deal with the Crimes Bill and re-affirmed the expressions of the former House as to Home Rule. Mr. McCarthy proposed an amendment, which, without any such re-affirmance, declined to express an opinion on the Crimes Bill. These amendments were defeated by overwhelming majorities. Then Mr. Davin moved an amendment, expressing the regret of the House at learning that it was considered necessary to pass a coercive measure for Ireland; and re-affirming the conviction, as expressed in the resolutions of 1882 and 1886, that a plan of local government for Ireland, which would leave unimpaired the links connecting Ireland with the British Empire and guard the rights of the minority, would be conducive to the prosperity of Ireland and the stability of the Empire. To this amendment Sir John Macdonald lent his powerful support. It mustered, however, only 59 votes, while against it were no less than 128.

I had pointed out early in the debate some improvements which I thought might be made in Mr. Curran's resolution. These he adopted, and his resolution was adopted by 135 to 47. But mark this: While that majority is imposing, it did not show the full extent of the feeling of the House in favor of Home Rule; for the adverse minority was opposed only to dealing with the Crimes Bill. But of the 47 who voted in that minority, no less than 44 were present and voted for Mr. Davin's amendment, which was in favor of Home Rule, and thus proclaimed their continued adhesion to Home Rule for Ireland; so that once again there was practical unanimity in the last of the three Canadian Houses in favor of Home Rule.

Now, what was this last expression, so far as it relates to the only presently material question, Home Rule? After referring to the former resolutions it says:

"The House again expresses the hope that there may speedily be granted to Ireland a substantial measure of Home Rule which, while satisfying the national aspirations of the people of Ireland for self-government, shall also be consistent with the integrity of the Empire as a whole. That the granting of Home Rule to Ireland will fittingly crown the already glorious reign of her Most Gracious Majesty as a constitutional sovereign, will come with special appropriateness in this her jubilee year, and, if possible, render her Majesty more dear to the hearts of her already devoted and loyal subjects."

These sanguine hopes were not realised. The jubilee year was not so crowned. The odious Crimes Bill was passed. The effort of Lord Salisbury to deal with Ireland on anti-Home Rule lines lasted for six weary years. The Irish people on the whole, though with exceptions, showed during that time great patience and moderation. (Applause.) Feelings born of a new emotion, that of hope in a great Eng-

lish party, of hope in the British democracy, of hope in the moral force of the opinion of the world, restrained them. (Cheers.) The blessed work of healing and reconciliation went on. The belief that Britain would ultimately be just and generous, the knowledge that British statesmen and the British masses were looking at Ireland for themselves, and were determined to heal the sore if possible, soothed and sustained the Irish people. The great work of popular education went on in Britain; its progress became manifest; everything pointed to a decisive victory. Then came the discovery of Mr. Parnell's fault, and his lamentable fall, with all the unhappy episodes and divisions that accompanied it. Thus for a time all energies seemed paralysed, all hopes blighted. The prospects of the election were seriously affected; and no doubt, to anticipate events for one moment, but for this and certain other minor divisions, the majority actually obtained in the end would have been greatly increased.

It was as that election approached, under those difficult circumstances, that I received the call, my acceptance of which is the occasion of this demonstration. (Prolonged applause.) The objection has been taken to my course, that every man owes a first duty to his own land, and that I should, instead of going to England, have taken part in public life in Canada. I wholly agree as to the first duty of every citizen of a country to his own land, and I hope that in earlier years and more fortunate circumstances I have shown myself not wholly neglectful of that duty to my fellow countrymen. (Cheers.) In pursuance of that view I have on all former occasions always discountenanced and rejected the flattering suggestions which have occasionally been made of my removal to what was thought a wider sphere. My own country was and is good enough for me—(tremendous cheers)—and I clung to her service while I could. But circumstances, which it is needless now to detail, had divorced me from that service, and after full consideration I had come to the conclusion that it must be left to time either to settle or to eliminate the difference of opinion which subsisted between me and those with whom I had acted, and with whom upon all other than one question I was still desirous to act in Canadian public life. (Cheers.)

Thus it had happened that when this invitation reached me I had turned to those other spheres of usefulness which remained open to me, those of our University, not far from this spot, and of the Provincial Law Society, of which I was the head, and was giving to them the time which I had formerly devoted to politics. I had also been engaged for a year or so in the pleasing task of making the acquaintance of my own family, which your service had prevented my accomplishing for 25 years before (laughter), and of resuming some slight connection with the profession from which your service had also detached me for a very long period. There were ties enough, then, of relationship and friendship, of business and affairs, of minor, but still very important duties, to make me feel in every nerve and fibre the loss involved in acceptance. But I deny, for the reasons I have already given, that there existed that prior tie of political duty which has been invented by my critics; and I did not hesitate. Why? Because I thought that next to that supreme duty came my public duty to the country of my origin, and to the Empire of which I was a humble citizen. (Cheers.) I believed that the election was a critical one, in which even the slightest impulse might perhaps assist. I saw the Irish cause in serious peril through unhappy divisions. I respected the judgment of the Irish leaders who called me. I did not choose upon my own unaided judgment to overrule their view. And I will add that I did believe that in some aspect, at any rate, my knowledge and experience in the practical working of

Home Rule might enable me to give some help in constructing and expounding a scheme of Home Rule. I felt a deep love and sympathy for the Irish race and an honest pride in the Empire to which I belong, and I believed from my soul that Home Rule was essential to the well-being of both. (Continued applause.)

Some have professed to read my mind, and have attributed to me as motives expectations of a lead in the Irish party, of a place in Mr. Gladstone's Government, of a judgeship, or of some titular honor. I might, I think, pretty safely appeal to my public career amongst you as the best evidence that I have never wished either lead, or office or honors. (Loud and continued cheering.) I have refused them as often as I could; I have accepted them as seldom as I could; and I have resigned them as soon as I could. (Laughter and applause.) But the idea of stepping into the Irish lead over the heads of able and devoted men, familiar with the ground, who had fought the battle, had suffered the loss, and had all but won the victory, is too preposterous for serious discussion. The idea of political office is even more absurd. The very foundation of that Irish party which I was asked to join was absolute independence, until Home Rule were won, of all English political parties, and refusal of all political office. (Hear, hear.) Judicial office was equally absurd, for I was not even a member of the Bar. As to honors, you know by voice and action my views on these. None of these things were attainable by me in England if I desired them; nor, had they been attainable, were they desired. It was too late for me to begin a new career in such a sphere. I might indeed easily lose, I was certainly risking an acquired reputation of which I thought I had some right to be proud. But I could not hope, at my time of life, and under these new circumstances, to gain a fresh one. And had all these things been otherwise with me, my ties to home and country were too numerous and too strong for me to dream of severance. I have enlisted, indeed, for a campaign, but its most joyful day for me will be that which releases me to return to my own fireside. (Cheers.)

But there was, I will admit, another feeling animating me, which I have not yet stated. I make no profession, God forbid that I should, to be in any sense the delegate or representative of any Canadian interest or party, even of any single man, still less of this great country, I claim no title to speak in your name or in your behalf abroad. But I did think and hope that I was going to further a cause dear to the hearts of the great body of the Canadian people—a cause which had stirred their noblest feelings, and which it would be pleasing to them that one of their own sons should, however slightly, promote. (Cheers.)

And now, forsooth, because you have been good enough to greet me on my return amongst you for a few weeks, and to express your favor for Home Rule, I am told that I have done wrong in accepting this kindness at your hands, and that I am responsible for bringing strife and division among you. I am told that Canada has nothing to do with Home Rule; that Canada does not, in truth, favor Home Rule; that I am connected with a disgraced and falling cause; and that some counter demonstration must be held at once to wipe out the stain of this reception, and to signify to Britain the true opinion of Toronto and of Canada as to Home Rule.

Sir, I think we may afford to treat this action with great good humor. (Applause.) We may differ indeed as to its taste, but apart from the question of taste it is not of very much import. I know, as I have told you, that Canada is not literally unanimous for Home Rule. I know that in this great city, where certain elements are so strong, it is the easiest thing in the world to gather a meeting against it.

I know that many members of the association to which I have referred, and some others, are opposed to Home Rule. But this I know, that the Liberal party is practically unanimous in favor of Home Rule—(applause)—that of the Conservative party a large majority are in its favor; that in all four out of every five Canadians, as I said before, are in favor of Home Rule. (Cheers.)

Now, I have not the least objection in the world to the meeting together of the small minority against us; I have not the least objection in the world to their passing their resolutions and expressing their views. But I respectfully decline to accept their verdict. (Cheers.) Why this disinclination to ventilate this question here; why this crying out about strife and division? You know it is because the objectors know that they are but an insignificant fraction of our whole Canadian people, and they don't want the decision of the Canadian people freely given.

Sir, I appeal unto Cæsar. I invite friends of Home Rule of whatever creed or race or party to see that at the next session of the Canadian Parliament, in the fourth House elected since the question became a burning one, that House shall, like its predecessors, give an expression of the opinion of the Canadian people upon this question. (Cheers.) I appeal from the murmurs of the Auditorium to the voice of the nation. (Renewed cheers.)

I invite all friends to take care that the cause suffers no damage from any insinuation that our zeal has grown slack or our opinions have changed.

The battle is not yet won. Our cause, though not disgraced or failing, is yet in a critical condition. It has enormously advanced, but it must move further yet. We have much to cheer us. We have converted an anti-Home Rule House into a Home Rule House—(applause). We have taken on an exhaustive poll a popular majority in Great Britain and Ireland three or four times as great as that of Lord Salisbury in the last House. We have installed, by that vote of the members of the new House of which I was permitted to be one, a Home Rule Government, on an occasion which will be hereafter regarded as historic, when, out of 668 men who could have voted, 665 were present in their places and participated in the division. We have killed the Coercion Act—(cheers)—and next February I hope to assist at those funeral ceremonies, by which it shall be consigned to a dishonorable grave. We expect with confidence a Home Rule bill to be presented to that Parliament, such as for ten years the Canadian Commons has asked. We hope to pass that Bill through the English Commons.

But we have to meet great difficulties of detail in its construction. We have to deal with divisions in the Irish ranks. We have to repress extremists who may, for faction's sake, put all in peril; to hearten timid men; to enlighten uninformed men; to combat the desperate forces of religious prejudice and class ascendancy, and to grapple with a great load of other questions; and all this with a Commons majority of only 40 and a hostile House of Lords.

We need your help in Canada.

(A voice—You have got it.)

And I claim with confidence from you that great moral support which you can extend by renewed expressions of sympathy from the Canadian people through their representatives, addressed to the situation as it stands to-day. Let not the whispers or intrigues of a baffled and beaten minority be potent to check or hush the voice of the nation; but speak your mind with freedom! I appeal to my old political friends to co operate, as under my lead they were used on this question to co-operate with my old political opponents, and to see that Canada speaks again with a united and determined voice, as she spoke in the days gone by. (Hear, hear.)

These are the days of public opinion and of moral force. Do not then

nd errate your power; do not neglect your solemn duty.

So much I have said to my fellow-countrymen, to all creeds and races. To my fellow-countrymen of the Irish race, I have to make a further appeal. While they and I ask for the sympathy and moral support of all, we do not choose to beg of those of other races that material aid which we may freely claim from our own people. And you who are my fellow-countrymen in the sense in which I speak, you of the Irish race, to which I also belong, will readily see that the consequences of the schism, including the detention of the large Paris fund, and its injurious effects at home and abroad, have greatly impaired the resources of the National Federation. The demands on it for evicted tenants, pending inquiry into their cases, and that legislative action which we expect next session; the demands upon it for elections and protests, for organization and maintenance of the political movement are heavy and urgent. I fear that the prospects for the Irish crops are not so favorable or promising as they were a few weeks ago, while the prices of cattle and sheep are desperately low. This will affect the capacity of Ireland herself to help, as she has helped according to her power in the past. Other sources of supply formerly available are not available now. I ask not only those in this gathering, but all those to whom my words may go through the press, the Irish race through Canada, to recognise this emergency, to remember that our struggle may still be protracted for two or three years, and to aid the cause. I am giving to that cause those two or three years of my life; and I may fairly ask you to give what you can. (Cheers.)

Now I should but ill discharge the duty which your kindness has imposed upon me if I did not say a few words as to some of the objects and characteristics of the great measure we advocate. It is emphatically not a measure of separation, or distintegration or decay, but a measure healing and restorative, creating for the first time a union worthy of the name. (Hear, hear.) It is a measure which will invigorate the Empire, and will enable the Imperial Parliament to discharge all those important Imperial and general duties now utterly beyond its power to overtake. That Parliament is choked to-day with Irish and also with every sort of parish business. The measure will also confer great local advantages on Ireland. It will give speed, economy and efficiency in carrying into effect the popular will through the local Government of that country. And it will, I firmly believe, amongst its blessings, pave the way for a demand for somewhat similar advantages, though mayhap in some other form, by Scotland and Wales, and ultimately by England herself.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is no wonder I think that North America, enjoying the benefit throughout its wide extent of the great political invention of federalism, of union for common concerns, of local government for local affairs, should be very emphatically in favor of the application of Home Rule to Ireland. We know its advantages. Here in Canada, as also in the States, we see local affairs managed by local legislatures, justice administered, property and civil rights disposed of, local and municipal institutions created and supervised, all local matters handled locally; while trade, commerce and navigation, customs and excise, militia and defence and other common concerns are dealt with by a central legislature and executive. We realise the efficiency thus obtained in each sphere, and we can see no insuperable difficulty in applying the principle to the case in hand. We here would not consent to legislation for us at Ottawa without representation there; and thus we were opposed to the abandoned suggestion of Westminster legislation

for an unrepresented Ireland. We here see that practical and effective control by a province of its own affairs can be reconciled with an effective reserved power elsewhere, to be used in improbable, but still possible emergencies. We here find no difficulty in the enforcement of the law or restraints of the constitution. We know that the machinery provided is fully adequate; that the stipulations of the organic law are observed; and that any attempt, whether inadvertent or intended, to violate them fails of effect. We here see that stipulations in favor of minorities, as interpreted by the law, are obeyed. More; we hear the very men who with us most loudly cry out about the danger to minorities in Ireland complaining most loudly of pandering and undue favoritism to minorities here; complaining in effect that the Ontario majority does not get justice and equal rights, because the Ontario minority is too strong for it.

Now as to the apprehension of oppression in matters of religion, including education, even those who do not share this apprehension agree that it should be relieved by express provision. That principle was contained in Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1886, and will doubtless reappear Some talk with dread of the establishment and endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, the church of the majority in Ireland They are the very people who most loudly bewail the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church, the church of part of the minority in Ireland. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) But Irish Roman Catholics are ready to secure for Ireland the true liberal principle that religion shall be between the conscience of the individual and his Maker—(hear, hear)—to agree to the abstraction of all power to endow and establish any church; to agree to secure to them the advantages now possessed by existing religious and charitable corporations; and to agree to provisions protecting the conscientious scruples of the minority in education.

Let me quote the identical clauses inserted in the bill of 1886, which met hearty assent in Ireland then and meet that hearty assent to-day. This is the fourth clause of that bill:

"The Irish Legislature shall not make any laws (1) respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or

"(2) Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, on account of religious belief, or

"(3) Abrogating or derogating from the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity, or

"(4) Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at that school, or

"(5) Impairing, without either the leave of her Majesty in Council first obtained on an address presented by the legislative body of Ireland, or the consent of the corporation interested, the rights, property or privileges of any existing corporation incorporated by royal charter or local and general act of Parliament." (Applause.)

Now, these provisions may be argued to be inadequate. Let us discuss the objections when they are taken, and make them adequate if they appear inadequate. (Hear, hear.) At any rate, they show the principle which is agreed to.

Again, the Irish people have agreed, and the bill provides that they shall have no power to deal locally with trade, commerce or navigation, with customs or excise, with army, navy or militia, with peace, war, or foreign relations, with the colonies or India, or with any other general and Imperial concerns. For all these, which are the true elements of union between Great Britain and Ireland,

the union continues, and a common parliament and executive will still act. (Hear, hear.)

All the Irish people claim is the local management of their local affairs. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Doubtless, Mr. Chairman, these affairs will be managed on popular principles. Doubtless the present centralized and autocratic system, under which important county business is done by Castle authorities and by sheriffs and grand juries, chosen not by the people, will be modified—(hear, hear)—doubtless the people will gain control of their own affairs. Doubtless there will be, but doubtless also there ought to be some change in this direction; and this, though naturally not agreeable to the present ruling minority in these concerns, seems just to us. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We would not tolerate in Canada for 24 hours the condition that obtains in this regard in Ireland. (Loud cheers.)

They say there will be oppression. How? By whom? In what? There have been oppression and ascendancy in times past; and those who now express these fears were the supporters of that system. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But I have shown you that in the points dreaded precautions are taken, and I ask that we should be shown any tangible, reasonable ground of apprehension, and I for one am prepared to make the effort to meet it. But the bottom of it all is this, and it is not unnatural—it is the lower side of human nature, but it is human nature still—the bottom of it all is the reluctance of the minority to allow the majority to rule. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

I am not for a divided Ireland in local concerns. I am against that, more, if I am to make a distinction at all, in the interest of the Protestants than of the Roman Catholics. I am against it in the common interest. I am convinced that the true interests of Ireland, and of each of the classes, creeds—races so to speak—which there exist, will best be served by the common local concerns of that country being managed under a common Parliament and a common executive. (Hear, hear.) In truth I am bound to say that although northeast Ulster speaks loud and strong, although she expresses her apprehensions with great freedom and force, she does not ask for separation from the rest of Ireland. That would be a cowardly thing to ask; because if there were reality in the local apprehensions, if Ulster were likely really to suffer, if strong northeast Ulster, with its popular power, with its intellectual power, with its material power, were likely to suffer, what would become of the scattered and small minorities of Protestants through the rest of Ireland? (Hear, hear.) For shame's sake they could not, if they would, ask to be separated. But they say:—"We who are so strong, who can manage our own affairs as we please, who control Belfast and the neighboring municipalities—and who manage them according to the well-understood principles of Protestant ascendancy—we are so afraid that we may be treated pretty much as we used to treat the others—(cheers and laughter)—that there must be no Home Rule for Ireland at all."

Now, I maintain that these apprehensions are wholly imaginary. (Hear, hear.) But I hold it to be important under any circumstances, and most important having regard to these allegations, that we should give, as your address suggests we should give, all the guarantees, securities and restraints against injustice that can be reasonably devised. But removing, as we can do, as the Bill proposes that we shall do, the question of religion from the political arena, I want to know what it is in respect of which oppression is to come in. I want to know what it is in respect of which injustice is to be done. I want to know how Protestant as distinguished from Catholic is to be injured. And I want to know whether it is reasonable that the men

who declare, though with some exaggeration, that they to-day constitute two fifths of the people, and that they have the wealth and intelligence and education and material power of the country in their hands, should be so very much afraid because what they allege to be so very small a numerical majority of inferior persons happen to be of another creed in the constituency which is to elect the proposed common Parliament? That is the whole of it. I want to know whether our history and the history of other countries, with our notions of such matters, in these modern days, gives any reasonable color of truth to these apprehensions?

My own opinion, which I have expressed in Ireland and in England, is that if they will but come in—I repeat the phrase which has been commented on — instead of being the oppressed, the Protestants will be the spoiled children of Ireland. (Loud cheers.) I shall not to night enter into any contrast, into which I might enter, as to the tolerance and liberality exhibited by the adherents of the two creeds in Ireland, in those matters in which they have had power to act, whether political or municipal. My own principles of action are well known to you. I have stated them in this country often, and I have repeated them in the other land, for I do not change my opinions with the country to which I go. (Applause.) I will repeat them to-night. I will re-state them from public speeches which I have made in Canada, and I ask you to consider whether they do not answer the emergency. This is what I said in 1886:

"I have been in public life for a good many years. The Irish population of my Province is, of course, composed of the Irish Protestant population and the Irish Catholic population. I have endeavored to do my duty and to act upon what I believe were sound Liberal principles towards all classes of the population. I have found myself opposed by a solid body, by the great majority, by the vast bulk of the Irish Protestants of Ontario. They are my strongest, and sternest, and fiercest political opponents to-day. I have found myself opposed by the great bulk of the Irish Catholics of Ontario. They also, with some noble exceptions, were amongst my opponents when I was defeated in South Bruce during my absence from the country through ill health. It was the Irish Catholics of that riding who rejected me, who deprived me of my seat in Parliament and obliged me to stand for another constituency at a subsequent date. I have endeavored, notwithstanding all that, to do my duty and to act, according to my lights, honestly, justly and fairly towards the Irish Catholics and towards the Irish Protestants—towards all classes. I make no distinction whatever in consequence of class or creed, and I extend no bid for the support of any class or creed. The position of the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants is this: They know that from the Liberal party they will obtain all they can justly claim, whether they give or refuse their support to that party. They know that the Liberal party will always act on the principle of justice, freedom and equal rights, because that is the plank upon which we stand. They know they have nothing to gain by supporting us, because they will not gain one jot or tittle beyond what these principles of justice, freedom and equal rights require. They know they have nothing to lose by opposing us, because they know, however strenuous their opposition may be, it will not make us one whit less earnest or less active in the promotion of their interests and of the common interests, according to the same principles of justice, liberty and equal rights. And therefore there is no need for them to turn their votes one way or the other in order that they may obtain from the Liberal party their meed of justice and liberty."

And a little later, speaking during an unhappy temporary agitation upon religious questions, I said this:

"I hold those men false to the principles of religious freedom who would sow discord between Protestants and Roman Catholics on this (the educational) subject. I freely render to my Roman Catholic fellow countrymen, first, religious freedom and next their stipulated rights, but more, I say that, being strong we ought to be what the strong should always be—generous to the weak. Measure full, heaped up and running over is the measure to be given by the strong to the weak, and by so acting we will exemplify true christian principles; we will exemplify true Liberal principles; we will do our best for the promotion of true Christianity and for the spread of the Gospel."

I rejoice to say that when I repeated these sentences amongst the Roman Catholics of Ireland, while seeking their support in my own county and in other counties, my words met with as enthusiastic a support, as applicable to their demeanor and their course of action respecting the Protestant minority, as the most earnest and strenuous of Protestants, amongst whom I count myself, could possibly demand.

Now, Mr. Chairman, besides the national aspirations of Ireland for local government; apart from the evils inflicted on her in various ways by the existing system of government, there has always been present the great question of the land. It is impossible and it is needless to enter into details on that question to-night. You know, this audience, largely composed of Irishmen, knows, that a system of tenancies at-will, or for short periods, under which the tenants effected all the improvements while the landlords were absentees; that such a system, combined with the dearth of other employments, with the increase of the population and the relations of supply and demand as to the land, had produced absolutely intolerable conditions, under which there was no real freedom of contract. You know that the tenants were largely rack-rented on their own improvements, and that the landlords took all but the barest possible subsistence; they even took more, the remittances from relations in America, and the earnings of the unhappy tenant in England, Wales and Scotland. You know that the earlier efforts, however well intended, at remedial legislation were towards the recognition legally of the moral and equitable ownership subsisting from this condition as to the making of improvements, and towards the provision of a kind of dual ownership. You know that, partly owing to serious defects in the measures themselves, partly to the falling value of products, and partly to a complication of circumstances, those plans failed of satisfactory results, and that it has been for some time generally recognised that the true solution is to convert the tenant, at any rate the small occupier, into the owner of the soil which he occupies. (Hear, hear.) You know that already something has been done to this end.

But the Ashbourne Act and all other prior and subsequent acts are inadequate to complete the work. This plan demands, in my opinion, the creation of public authorities, with power, if necessary, to sanction compulsory purchase, and to use the public credit to accomplish the operation.

And still more is needed in those unhappy congested districts where there are small holdings in which it is not a question of rent at all, in which, if the occupant had the plot rent free he yet could not live—where many holdings must be enlarged, and where, on account of the necessary displacements of the existing population, arrangements must be made for the transfer of a portion of them to other adjacent lands. Here, again, compulsory power by a public authority and the use of the public credit is required.

Now, it is probable that the existence of these compulsory powers will, as in the case of the recent legislation as to laborers' allotments in England, render their use needless in almost all cases, and that the operation will proceed simply by the fact of the existence, without the use, of the power.

It is clear to my mind to a demonstration that these general lines must be followed, and that their pursuit is in the interest of landlords and tenants alike; and that thus only can we hope to make Ireland a permanently contented and prosperous country. Now, how is this to be treated in connection with Home Rule? There may be other possible alternatives. I do not dogmatise; but three occur to me; one immediate action by the Imperial Parliament; another, the immediate transfer of power on proper conditions to a local legislature; the third, a reservation of the question for a limited time, on the expiration of which, if still unsettled by the Imperial Legislature, it should go to the Local Legislature. I have a decided preference with reference to these alternatives; but it would be premature to discuss that now, or to disclose opinions which may be modified by further reflection and review of the situation. On these, as on other questions, a reasonable, practical man must see what is proposed, and endeavor to reach the best attainable adjustment. The difficulties are great; but they are not insuperable. The complexity is so serious as may, indeed, prevent the framing of a fully detailed plan now. Yet I believe it to be not at all impossible to lay down now principles which shall safeguard the interests of the landlords as well as the interests of the tenants.

There are many other details in connection with this measure—including some of the most important char acter. To their solution able men have been and are now bending their minds and energies. I believe they will be solved, and that we will see soon a good Home Rule Bill introduced into the Imperial Parliam[illegible] (Loud cheers.) God speed th[illegible] (Renewed cheers.) And take care that you help in your measure, for to-day, under God's providence, is allotted to share in moulding this affair. Take care that you help in your measure to the speeding of that day, and to the success of the bill when it does come forward. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I shall not longer detain you. There are many speakers whom it is important to the cause that you should hear, and I shall now close. I will add this only, that it would be ungrateful in the extreme for me to sit down without saying that, both in Ireland and in England alike, your fellow-countryman has been received and treated with a kindness and a consideration beyond all expectation, and which have touched his heart more deeply than could anything, save the affection and kindness of his friends at home. (Loud and long continued cheering, during which the speaker resumed his seat.)

ARCHBISHOP WALSH.

After Mr. Blake's speech had been delivered and so soon as the cheering which followed it had subsided, the tall, commanding figure of Archbishop Walsh, who had been sitting at the left of the chairman, was presented to the audience. His address was short but every word told, and the sentences were punctuated with prolonged applause. He began by saying that it was not his custom to stand upon public platforms to discuss purely secular matters. This was not merely a matter of politics, it was the question of a nation struggling to regain rights wrung from it by fraud, violence and corruption. In this gathering of free Canadians there was sympathy for those engaged in the struggle. It was a wonder indeed that any honest Canadian could be found adverse to the principle of Home Rule. In such a country as ours with its evidence of prosperity,

with government of the people, for the people and by the people, it was meet and proper that Canadians should take interest in the Irish question, in the efforts to bring about a real union in place of the paper union between the kingdoms, a union signalized on one side by the strong arm of force keeping down the people, and on the other side by unhappiness and discontent. What, in brief, were the fruits of that paper union which bound Ireland to England? As far as Ireland is concerned, the ruin of Irish industries and trade, the oppression of the tenant by the landlord, pauperism, misery, degradation, famine and its attendant horrors, the enforced exile of millions of her children, discontent, unhappiness, hatred and revolt. These have been the fruits of the legislative union between the sister isles as far as Ireland is concerned; and surely, if a tree is known by its fruits, it is time to lay the axe at the root of the upas tree of the so-called union, and to cut it down, root and branch. (Applause.)

To an English gentleman who lately in his presence had declared himself a Unionist, he replied that Home Rulers were the true unionists —men who desired a union of hearts. When in that union the Irish people stood side by side with the British nation, as they stood at Waterloo, invincible before the greatest military nation of Europe, so in the future might they stand against confederated Europe. (Applause.) He was glad to stand up to do honor to one who, with more than knightly chivalry, had left his country and his home to do justice to an unhappy land. The Hon. Mr. Blake's love of justice and fair play for the weak as against the strong, for a struggling minority as against a powerful majority, was not a newborn sentiment with him. It was he who, some years ago, gave eloquent expression to the noble sentiment that the Protestant majority of Ontario should treat the Catholic minority not only with justice, but with generosity —(cheers)—to do honor to Mr. Blake and to wish triumphant success to the great cause to which he has devoted his time, his energies and unrivalled talents. (Applause.) May God hasten the advent of the day of Ireland's freedom—the day of its peace and prosperity—the day towards which our fathers strained their weary eyes, about whose glories our poets sang in immortal verse, and our orators spoke with more than human eloquence—a day of peace and happiness for Ireland and of blessed reconciliation and hearty union with our English brothers. (Prolonged applause.)

REV. DR. DEWART'S SPEECH.

Rev. Dr. Dewart, who spoke next, expressed the utmost sympathy with the action and words of Mr. Blake. Years ago he (Dr. Dewart) had regarded it as reasonable, proper and just to give the Irish people the management of their own affairs. There were two objections urged against Home Rule; the first that it would result in the dismemberment of the Empire. Could it be possible that the distinguished statesman to whom the destiny of Great Britain was entrusted would seek to dismember the Empire? (A voice—No, no.) As one whose father was born on the Longford borders he felt glad when Mr. Blake decided to go to Ireland, glad, too, that, after speaking for the Union as he had spoken this night, he was elected by a great majortiy, proving that the men of Longford favored the maintenance of the Union.

The second objection to Home Rule was that it meant the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. Though a Protestant of the Protestants, he did not believe this. The attitude of the anti Home Rulers meant: "I would like to have Home Rule if the majority were Protestant, but because it is Roman Catholic I would deny the right that I would demand for myself." That was a wrong, a dangerous posi-

tion. There had been enough of restlessness, suffering and discontent; in the name of humanity, let something else be tried. He hoped to live to see the day when peace and unity would take the place of the strife and animosity that had been the curse of the past. (Applause.)

HON. MR. COSTIGAN'S SPEECH.

The hon. the Minister of Inland Revenue is a comparative stranger to a Toronto audience, but secured a flattering reception. He expressed pleasure at meeting Mr. Blake upon the common ground of Home Rule, told how he had known before the invitation was sent to Mr. Blake that it was coming, and the pleasure he felt when that gentleman accepted it and went to Ireland. Not only did he do service to the cause by this action, but he reflected credit upon his country and showed that Canadians can hold their own even in the British House of Commons. It had been insinuated in certain sections of the press that this assemblage was calculated to endanger the Empire. The charge might well be hurled back in the teeth of those who made it. There were extremists in all parties, and some had spoken of separation. But to day even in the United States, where Irishmen had severed every link binding them to Great Britain, even there they did not advocate separation, holding rather that the integrity of the Empire must be maintained. Were Ireland to separate from the Empire to-morrow it would be the greatest evil that could be imagined. (Loud applause.) Mr. Costigan, continuing, sketched the progress of the Home Rule resolutions of 1882 and 1886 through the Dominion House, and, amid cheers, declared that before it could be said that Mr. Blake in supporting, Home Rule did not voice the sentiments of the people of Canada the Parliament of the Dominion must reverse the votes given upon those occasions. A few figures were given to show that Home Rule does not mean Rome rule. In Catholic Cork fifteen Protestant mayors have been elected since 1850, and of the annual salary bill of the corporation, amounting to $4 800, $2,800 went to Protestant officials. The popular leaders in all great Irish movements had been Protestants and still were.

HON. MR. HARDY'S SPEECH.

Hon. A. S. Hardy said that it would not be right for him to speak long in presence of such apostles of Home Rule as Dr. Bergin and Hon. Peter Mitchell. The gathering was a fitting adjunct to the great meetings addressed by Mr. Blake in Ireland and England, and he trusted the voice would be heard across the Atlantic as representing the true sentiments of the people of this great Province. (Cheers.) He was glad that his friend, Mr. Blake, to the cry, "Come over and help us!" had answered, "I come," and after the battle was over had been thought so much of by the people of England as to be asked to give his views not only before the Eighty Club, but to be placed before the whole people of England. He (the speaker) awaited the time when Mr. Blake might measure swords with the best of the anti-Home Rulers. (Cheers.) It was not well to depend too much on one man and one arm, but what one man and one arm could do Mr. Blake would do.

Then in a pleasant way Mr. Hardy told how a gentleman, a Conservative down to the ground, had in conversation said he had often heard Blake so clearly explain matters in the Houses as to bring him over to his own way of thinking; and "this for Mr. Costigan," said Mr. Hardy, "I have often wondered why he did not induce Ministers to change their minds also." (Laughter.) "One man in the crowd," continued the Minister of Crown Lands, "remarked that they would make Mr. Blake a knight. And another said,

'Oh, no, it will be a peer or an earl probably.' For my part I hope they will make him neither, for I as one of his friends would feel great diffidence in approaching him either as Lord Blake or Earl of Longford." (Laughter.) In closing, Mr. Hardy strongly expressed his belief that the dawn appears, that daybreak is almost here, and that we shall all live to see the Home Rule day in the full splendor of its meridian.

Dr. Bergin, M.P., spoke briefly, but with much vigor. He said that in a paper supposed to be the organ of the Conservative party, to which he belonged—a paper published in this city—he had seen a dastardly article on Hon. Edward Blake, and, despite sore domestic affliction, had felt it his duty not only as a member of the Conservative party, but as a citizen, to come and enter an emphatic protest against such language. (Loud cheers.) In doing so he only echoed the sentiments of every honest Conservative and of every public man who valued the endorsation of his own conscience.

Senator Sullivan, speaking on behalf of the friends of Home Rule in Kingston, the Derry of Canada, joined in the words of welcome.

HON. PETER MITCHELL'S SPEECH.

Hon. Peter Mitchell, in response to repeated calls, came forward and in a few neat phrases expressed his pleasure in being present and hearing one of Canada's greatest orators so lucidly explain the provisions of the Home Rule programme. As a Home Ruler from away back he had, as Mr. Blake said, been forced to oppose Home Rule resolutions in the Dominion House because they did not go far enough. As one of the eight living fathers of Confederation he thought he might speak of the benefits of Home Rule with some authority. In the old days Lord John Russell expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage should Canada break loose. Times were changed since then, and now no English statesman would express such sentiments about the greatest colony. As Canadians, who had been so advantaged by the Home Rule given by Confederation, we should be prepared to stand up for a similar measure to Ireland. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. Devlin, M.P., who rose after 11.30, held his audience while he declared his loyalty to be as great despite the cruel wrongs and years of oppression meted out to Ireland as any of those who will flaunt their loyalty to-morrow evening.

Mr. Joseph Tait, M.P.P., said that having received an invitation to speak at another meeting called to save the Empire, he had dropped in accompanied by G. B. Smith to see if the Empire really was in danger. In a few humorous sentences he expressed the opinion that it was not.

With a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Mr. P. Boyle, and seconded by Mr. B. Lynch, the demonstration was brought to a close, and a quarter before midnight the vast audience dispersed after singing God Save the Queen, and cheering for Mr. Blake.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE IRISH HOME RULE MOVEMENT,

With hope and confidence that increase daily Ireland enters upon her last struggle for self-government, and looks to her children and friends everywhere for practical sympathy in this her crucial hour. The present Parliament of England has already acknowledged the reasonableness of her claims, and will most certainly grant her just demands. But it is still a combat against prejudice that stoops not to consult either reason or history—a contest of the weak against the strong—of the poor and helpless against the rich and powerful. In this most h
and yet most trying emergency I

appeals to her children in lands blessed with self-government, where enjoying the blessings of freedom, they have taken their places among the progressive and wealthy, and she asks for their generous and active co-operation. Nobly have they responded in the past, nor will they be lacking now; for as the hope was never greater, the moment of success nearer, so the needs were never more urgent than now.

Latest accounts from the old land tell of extreme agricultural depression, while landlord exaction and cruelty towards the tenants are rifer than ever. Seeing the approaching triumph of the people's cause and their own inevitable defeat, they are using their last moments of power to harass the tenantry and fustrate the expressed intention of Mr. Gladstone's Government. At the suggestion of the Hon. Edward Blake Canada is called on to aid the political movement of the Irish Parliamentary Party and to assist the evicted and suffering tenants, thus strengthening the bands of all engaged in the cause. Already several very liberal responses have been made to Ireland's appeal; but individual effort, however generous, is not equal to the needs. Let there, then, be united action, and Ireland will be prepared for any emergency; and let no friend of the cause withhold his offering because he cannot contribute as his heart would suggest.

Canada gives to Ireland in her present struggle one of her most distinguished sons. He takes with him her moral strength, repeatedly manifested in public opinion and parliamentary action; nor has Canada been wanting heretofore in material aid to Ireland; but in this hour of Ireland's sorest trial Canada will unite all her strength in a supreme effort to assure the final triumph. To facilitate this united action an Executive Committee has been formed in Toronto. While this Executive is willing to co-operate in the general movement, complete success will depend on the formation and action of local organizations. It is hoped, therefore, that those in sympathy with the cause will form themselves into local committees, taking such action towards the general object as may seem to them most advisable.

Collections should be at once begun, and should include the most humble offerings as well as the most generous gifts. Local organizations may communicate with the Executive Committee in Toronto and forward their remittances as soon as collected. Senator Frank Smith and the Hon. S. H. Blake, Q.C., both gentlemen enjoying the confidence of Canadians universally, have consented to act as joint Treasurers of the Fund, and will receive and transmit to the Honourable Edward Blake all donations sent for the above purpose. Contributions sent to these gentlemen will be promptly acknowledged, and the names of all contributors published in the public press.

It only remains for us to call attention to the gravity of Ireland's present situation, and to impress upon all the urgent necessity of immediate and united action. Let us all take part to the best of our means in this grand and noble work, so that when Ireland has regained her long lost legislative rights, each may share in the glory of a risen nation.

On behalf of the Executive Committee.

SENATOR FRANK SMITH,
Chairman.